3.4: JANAM SAKHI - PAIRA MOKHA (J.P.M.)

The following MSS. of this work are available:-

i. MS.No.459 P.U.L. Chandigarh. The first sakhi relates how Guru Nanak brought to light the four vedas. It is stated that Guru Nanak spent 12 years in different journeys and stayed for 45 years at Kartarpur. About the father of the Guru it states that he was a Patwari. Death date of Guru Nanak is 1595 Bi. which is same as in Puratan. The work is dated 1902 Bi (1845 A.D.) and was copied from another MS. dated 1874 Bi by Isra Singh,son of Bhagwan Singh , at Ph-agwara . It contains lot of paintings.

ii. MS.No.760 ,P.U.L. Chandigarh. It was copied in 1913 Bi (1856 A.D.) from another MS. dated 1892 Bi (1835 A.D.). It contains death dates of first nine Gurus. In the beginning stories of Sukdev, Janaka and 4 yugas are given.

iii. MS.No.763, P.U.L. Chandigarh. It was scribed by Sipaha Singh in 1894 Bi (1787 A.D.) at Amritsar. About 15 sakhis in this work are exactly same as in Puratan Janam Sakhi. It contains about 95 sakhis.

iv. MS. No.863 ,P.U.L.Chandigarh. It contains paintings of Ten Gurus right in the beginning. It is very beautifully scribed, Endings, headings and sub-headings are in red ink. It covers 479 double and the last (No.480) single page . It has only 77 sakhis.

v. MS.No.2512 lying in Sikh Museum, Golden Temple, Amritsar. It was scribed in 1857 Bi (1800 A.D.) and contains paintings in the style of Moghul art. It consists of 76 sakhis and is, perhaps, the shortest available MS.

vi. MS.No.2184 S.R.L. Amritsar. It is known as Sahiwal-wali Janam Sakhi. It contains the sakhi of Raja Janak. Like MS.763 it also contains many sakhis word for word same as in Puratan. The sakhi of birth is same as in Puratan with the exception of birth date.

vii. One MS. in the possession of Rao Uttam Singh of Sangrur. It may be regarded Hindali version of J.P.M. At P.154 Hindal is praised at the expense of Kabir and Guru Nanak. It is the only available MS mentioning at Leaf-5 the same birth date as in S.P. and Puratan i.e. Baisakh, Lunar 3, 1526 Bi. At leaf-8 its scribing date is 1826 Bi (1769 A.D.). It contains the sakhi of Mansukh who had gone to Singladip. In most of the other MSS of this Janam Sakhi this sakhi is left out.

viii. MS.No.5023 in S.R.L. Amritsar. Double pages 1-281. It was copied in 1838 Bi (1781 A.D.). There are only 80 sakhis in it.

ix. MS.No.164. Bhasha Vibhāg, Patiala dated 1797 Bi (1740 A.D.).

x. MS.No.198. Bhasha Vibhāg, Patiala covers 347 pages.

xi-xii. MSS.Nos.235 and 268. They contain goshti Raja Janak

in the beginning.

xiii, MS.No.2870 C.P.L. Patiala is dated 1879 Bi (1822 A.D.) It contains sakhi of Makhdum Bahavdi (common with Puratan) and death dates of first nine Gurus. Goshti with Ajita Randawa is very long.

xiv. MS.No.2894 C.P.L. Patiala is dated 1902 Bi (1845 A.D.) scribe Prem Dass. There is mention of third, fourth and fifth Gurus. Balwand whose Var is incorporated in Adi Granth is mentioned at P.359 and his Var included here. A derogatory sakhi regarding Guru Angad's daughter is there at P.355.

xv-xvi. Two more MSS. Nos.2829 and 2737 are lying in C.P.L. Patiala.

xvii. MS.No.342. Panjab Archives, Patiala is dated 1856 Bi (1799 A.D.). The scribe was Ram Singh Lahorē of Phagwara. Pages 256 double. It contains the sakhi of Guru Angad's daughter.

xviii. MS.No.339. Panjab Archives Patiala covers 365 pages. It appears to be one hundred years old. No of sakhis is 227. In the beginning sakhis of Sukhdev, Prichhat and Janak are told.

xix-xxii. MSS lying in Moti Bagh Library, Patiala. No.106 is dated 1840 Bi (1783 A.D.). Scribe Sipaha Singh. No.x is dated 1804 Bi (1747 A.D.). Scribe Charpat. No.229 is dated 1819 Bi (1762 A.D.) Scribe Mehtab Singh. It contains only 82 sakhis. Except birth date it is almost same as the Puratan Janam Sakhi

(Hafizabadi version). No.230 is dated 1895 Bi (1838 A.D.). Scribe Sawan Singh of Kashmir.

xxiii. MS.No.x Panjabi Sahit Akadmi, Ludhiana, dated 1927 Bi.

xxiv. MSS. with Principal Pritam Singh, Faridkot. No.197 is dated 1928 Bi (1871 A.D.). No of sakhis 304. It is perhaps the largest MS. of J.P.M. No.x is dated 1856 Bi (1799 A.D.). It contains 77 sakhis and is almost same as MS. in Sikh Museum, Amritsar, referred to above in (V).

xxv-xxvi. Two MSS with Dr.Ganda Singh. One is dated 1889 Bi (1832 A.D.) and the other covering 364 pages is dated 1934 Bi (1877 A.D.). It contains the largest number of sakhis.

From the above we see that the volume of this work has been gradually increasing from 76-77 in 1800 A.D. to more than 200 in about 1860 A.D. The current editions of this Janam Sakhi have swelled up still further because the interest of its publishers is to produce a big book to earn more money. The litho edition of this work published from Lahore by Munshi Gulab Singh in Mufid-i-Ām press contains 90 sakhis. As this number is not so higher than 76-77 in the shortest MSS we shall make it the basis of our study. We shall be calling it

2.4 JANAM SAKHI - PAIRA MOKHA: Under this title we shall discuss Bale Vali Janam Sakhi which was written by Paira Mokha of Sultanpur. He claims to have written this work during the life time of Guru Angad but in the year 1582 Bikrami mentioned in the

beginning of this Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak was alive and Bhai Lehna who became Guru Angad afterwards had not met him. So the year 1532 Bikarmi is most probably incorrect. Further discussion on this aspect will be taken up in the Chapter 'Authorship and Period of Composition.' The introductory sakhis contain some story element though they lack the biographical information.

<u>At Talwandi</u> The life of Guru Nanak as described here resembles somewhat with Puratan and S.P. up to the time of renunciation but the writer does not follow the style of either Meharban or writer of Puratan. The commentary on the poetry of Guru Nanak is only given in Sakhi number 3, 14, 34 and 83. Sakhi Nos. 1 and 2 contain no verses. Sakhi-3 is in the style of a goshti. 4 verses are explained. S.4

S.4. It is like a short story which glorifies Guru Nanak.

S.5. It also contains a little story element but it is mainly a dialogue between Kalu and Pundit Hardyal in which the latter praises Guru Nanak.

S.6. It describes the sakhi of true bargain. Guru Nanak spends the money given to him on a faqir, Sant Bemu. Then he does not go home lest his father should beat him. The sakhi is on the pattern of a short story. But unlike the modern story it contains a moral.

S. 7. It contains story element. It introduces Jai Ram, brother-in-law of Guru Nanak. The marriage of sister Nanaki is also described in it. This sakhi is discussed in chapter 8.

<u>At Sultanpur (S.9-18)</u>

Guru Nanak is said to have gone to Sultanpur where he took over as grain factor (Modi). It is mentioned that the Guru

knew Hindgi and not Persian. It appears that Hindgi means the language of the region and not Hindi as it is today. As Guru Nanak has composed poetry in Persian, it means that he knew Persian. So the statement of Janam Sakhi that the Guru did not know Persian is incorrect. The accounts of the Guru were checked twice, once in 3-10 and the second time in 3.11. The character of Guru's mother-in-law is depicted. She appears to be more frank and exacting than her husband. The sakhis are brief and to some extent interesting. Sakhi 14 captains 4 verses and No.15 captains 6. The other sakhis do not contain any poetry. The marriage party according to this writer started from Sultanpur. It is strange. The parents of Guru Nanak lived at Talwandi. How could it be possible for the marriage party to start from the place where their daughter was married ? It appears that the writer wanted to give credit of this ceremony to his own place. This writer is unable to name the place to which Guru's mother belonged. He simply says that Guru's maternal uncle and maternal grand-father came from Majha. Now Majha is the name given to Central Punjab,the area of Lahore, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur and Amritsar districts.It is not the name of a town or city. The marriage party is shown returning to Sultanpur from where the Guru goes to Talwandi along with the bride. It is stated that Bala was left behind at Sultanpur and he performed the duties of Nanak as a Modi. Was Bala competent for this job? He himself

talks about his incapability. If so, is it not an attempt on the part of the writer to give too much importance to Bala? On the one hand the writer says that Guru Nanak went to Talwandi leaving Bala in his place and on the other says that the Guru did not lead a sexual life for which his wife complained to her mother, who, in turn, complained about this to sister Nanaki. This is unconvincing. Had Guru Nanak been against worldly life he would not have married at all. The Gurbani also contradicts the statement of the writer.

One day a <u>faqir</u> in Turkish dress met Guru Nanak and reminded him about the great task he had come to accomplish in this world. A new character, Phiranda, from whom Mardana got a rebeckin introduced (S.17). When the latter goes with the former to see him off, he disappears as if he was an angel. There is some sort of supernaturalism in the sakhi. In some manuscripts Phiranda and Nanak are described as having lived as true brothers in Treta-yuga. They had a sister also, most probably Nanaki in the present birth. The description of past life resembles that of Buddha in the Jatakas. This Janam Sakhi has given many incidents showing that sister Nanaki had great love and regard for his brother. The mention of disappearance in Vein is not given its due importance. It is narrated in only 4 lines. But the writer deserves appreciation for not relating the meeting with God within

Vein. S.14 is in the form of a goshti in which a new character, Sama Pundit participates. S.15 is an admixture of a Sakhi and a goshti. All the Sakhis except No.14 contain story element.

Leaves Sultanpur: When the journey starts Bala is not there. The writer takes the Guru and Mardana to Eminabad where Lalo carpenter lived. In S.20 Guru Nanak declines the invitation of Malik Bhago and incurs his wrath. When a Brahamin comes to tell the Guru about the anger of Malik, he goes to the house of the latter. It is strange that Guru Nanak who did not go to Nawab Daulat Khan on his order went to Malik Bhago. It is more probable that some attendants might have taken him to Malik's presence by force. The incident showing blood coming out of the food prepared by Malik and milk out of the coarse food of Lalo is symbolic. It has got social as well as moral significance. It is presented to show the super-natural powers of Guru Nanak,but it also means that those who are rich squeeze the blood of poor while those who are poor are generally honest. This Sakhi resembles the story told about Lord Krishna who had stayed with Bidar and not with Daryodhana and had praised the simple food served by Bidar. Malik Bhago wanted to punish Guru Nanak and so complained to the local Chief Atte Khan who ordered the round up of fauirs. The Guru was also taken prisoner. The writer says that the Guru uttered 4 verses in Rag Tilang (commonly known as Bābburvani) on this occasion. It appears that the sequence of events is not in order. The above mentioned poetry is said to have been uttered on the occasion of Babur's invasion of Sayyed Pur (modern Eminabad) in 1521 A.D. Here the writer brings the Guru to this place in the very

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1. Bh.Gurdas,Var 10-St.7.

beginning of the journey and inserts the poetry not suited to the occasion. Mardana goes to Talwandi (3-19) and returns to Emnabad along with Bala. They now return to Talwandi with Guru Nanak. The visit to Talwandi may be regarded correct because the Guru was going on a long journey but the writer has not given this reason for this visit. He says that the Guru went there to please Rai Bular who wanted to see him.

Journey starts: Sakhis 23 to 28 are almost same as Puratan Nos.18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28 and so need not be discussed here. Moreover ,this Janam Sakhi also describes the visit of the Guru to Sangladip though it omits the visit of Mansukh to this country. The name of the Minister is given as Parsram. It is not a Buddhist name. The account given is claimed so fascinating that Guru Angad remained in trance for 27 Pahars (equal to 81 hours) . The king Sivnabh became the disciple and the Guru is said to have uttered 113 chapters of Pran Sangli for for his salvation. There is an attempt on the part of the writer to glorify Guru Nanak by contrast with the king.

From now onward starts the visit to strange and imaginary places. The first is Asrapanah where a 'manji' was bestowed upon one carpenter, Jhanda by name. But the writer does not describe the Sakhi of Jhanda completely and instead narrates the sakhi of Kauda Rakshasha(3-30). His place is not mentioned.

3-31: It is an interesting sakhi. There is mention of a

precious ruby which was given to Mardana, who went to the city and met Salis Rai, a jeweller. He is shown having a highly developed aesthetic taste. That is why he gave to Mardana a hundred rupees simply for looking at the ruby. He had a slave Adarka by name. Salis Rai was given a 'manji' with the word that after the death his slave would ascend it. It is specifically mentioned here that Guru Nanak used to travel two and a half yojans daily. 21 verses are quoted out of which 8 are unauthentic. There is enough story element in this Sakhi.

3-32: The travelling on a fish is most romantic. The fish described her previous birth and in the end died and is said to have got salvation due to her meeting with Guru Nanak. Either the whole sakhi is imaginary or the writer has confused some part of the name Machhli or Masuli with the fish. In any case, he has let loose his fancy in the present and the following sakhis.

3-33: Next the mythical character of Kal is personified as a female and she comes to meet the travellers. Guru Nanak thrusts one staff into her mouth but there appears Narada, another character, who is generally associated with the quarrels. He is also mentioned by Guru Gobind Singh along with Kal[1] in 'Var Bhagauti'. This sakhi in its essence means that Guru Nanak could not be excited but would subdue any

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1. St. 3.

external agency trying to upset his composure. This is the only Janam Sakhi which shows Guru Nanak using force here.

Sakhis of Isles (S.34-38):- In S.34 three new characters are introduced. (i) Jhanda carpenter. His father's name is given Pakkar. (ii) Inder Sen. He was nephew of the King. (iii) King Sudhar Sen. Inder Sen is mentioned as an old acquaintance of the Guru. But it is strange that Jhanda who was a companion of Inder Sen, did not know anything about the Guru while the latter knew him. When Guru utters poetry Jhanda says that he has not followed. Jhanda was given the half left out food of Guru Nanak and when he took half from it he became enlightened. This is very strange. The sakhi is full of incidents and is interesting. There is element of curiosity when Jhanda goes in search of Inder Sen. Out of 8 verses 4 are extra-Granth.

S-35:-There are 4 extra-Granth verses in this sakhi, which introduces a Brahmin King, who meets the Guru in a jungle. The hunger of Mardana is mentioned humorously. Language difficulty is ignored.

S-36:-It is full of interest. The King who considered the Guru and his companions his prey is shown turning his disciple. When Mardana saw the King he was frightened. This reveals his nature in contrast with the undaunted personality of the

Guru. The sakhi mentions that the King became blind when he wanted to catch the Guru. This is for the glorification of Guru Nanak. This sakhi resembles No.40 in Puratan. The writer is successful in creating an atmosphere of tension which he relieves with the help of a miracle. The central idea of the sakhi is to teach humility.

S.37:- It is brief. The inhabitants are called vanmanūs. The sakhi proves that wherever the Guru went, his greatness was acknowledged. Bala and Guru Nanak were not frightened by the cries of Vanmanūs but Mardana was. The writer does not depict Mardana sympathetically.

S.38:- The sakhi centres around Mardana who felt hungry. There is lot of story element in the sakhi. The description of the place is such as gives rise to doubts. The Balance, weights used at the shops were all made of gold. The workers did not charge wages. Every thing was in abundance. Mardana got two and a half seer of sweets for himself. The whole description is poetic and cannot be considered realistic. The writer says that the people there did not do sexual intercourse. The area of the country is put at seventeen thousand seventy hundred yojanas. It should have been seventy seven thousand,seven hundred. The writer states that there is no Turk in that country. It compels us to think that the writer is talking of a place or a country in which Muslim

culture had not reached until then. The King was Kewal Nain. This king was asked to recognise the supermacy of Sudhar Sen. It is difficult for the reader to understand the logic behind this suggestion. Why did he ask such a big king to submit to a lower king ?

Visit of Places in the West

S.39: It describes the visit of Guru Nanak to Mecca. Reaching there by mere wishing is exaggeration. It states that Hindus are not allowed to go there. It is a bare fact. The writer says that the entry of Mardana at Mecca was not observed by anybody. It is as if he was an invisible man. He was a Muslim and there is no reason why he would have been checked. The writer had tried to show that Mardana and Guru Nanak entered Mecca and nobody observed them. This statement has been inserted to overcome the objection that Guru Nanak being a Hindu could not have been allowed to enter Kaaba. Then Guru Nanak entered and slept with his feet towards Kaaba. Kazi Rukn-u-Din came and when he turned the feet of Nanak, the writer observes, that Mecca also moved. This is a miraculous event which can only be regarded as a poetic truth and not a scientific truth. The statement of the writer that the Hajis enter Kaaba with closed eyes is not confirmed by facts, even though the writer has narrated the story of Khunkar Hussaini who tried to remove the statue but the city caught fire and

a voice directed the visitors to enter the Kaaba with closed eyes. The writer appears to be under the influence of Saivism when he states that the stone statue of Mecca is that of Mahadev. Besides, he praises Mahesh (another name of Siva) and regards him stronger than Brahma and Vishnu. The writer is critical of Mujāwars (Muslims) and puts into the mouth of Mardana these words: "I have seen their emptiness." The sakhi contains only two verses. It is on the pattern of a short story but is charged with supernaturalism.

3-40: It contains 23 verses and resembles the above sakhi. Here Guru Nanak and Bala slept with their feet towards the grave of Mohammed. One priest moved their feet and the grave moved. This visit and incident has not been mentioned by S.P. and Puratan. However, Bhai Gurdas makes a passing reference to this visit.[1] The writer uses derogatory remarks about Prophet Mohammed. He says, "Mohammed shall be reborn. He did not liberate himself from the three attributes (Traya guna). He shall be born in a Hindu family, in the house of a Sudra. He had much badness." The language difficulty is ignored. The goshti between the Guru and Mardana towards the end of this sakhi is worth studying. The Sakhi does contain story element.

3-41: Here Guru Nanak tells Mardana that sister Nanaki had remembered him and they start towards Sultanpur. The writer

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1. Var 1, stanza 37, line 1.

takes the help of a miracle. He says that they reached in one khari. After visiting Sultanpur, again reached the place from where they had started for Mecca i.e. the country of Kawal Nain.

Geshtis with Siddhās.

Now starts an upward journey and the place visited is named Sumer. It is interesting to note that this Janam Sakhi expresses distance in terms of time spent upto the city of Kawal Nain. From there onward it measures distance in kos (equal to about 2 miles). But when the Guru starts towards Sumer the distance is expressed in yojanas (1 yojan = 4 kos = 8 miles). The description of Sumer resembles that of the country of Kawal Nain. The whole land and the hills were made of gold. It was no man's land and natural juice was flowing there. Mardana drank the juice and quenched his thirst and hunger for ever. The description of juice now takes a spiritual turn. It is described as Name-juice and the writer says that only the saints could relish it. From this it may be inferred that by Sumer the writer means the highest achievement in the realm of spiritualism. In yoga Sumer or Sumeru is the top most point of concentration within the body and is generally conceived as the upper most part of the cardinal bone lying in the region of human skull.

The distances of some stars, moon, sun and the mounts given here are discussed in the chapter "Geography and Cosmos in the Janam Sakhis."

S.43. This sakhi consists of three parts. In the first a dialogue between Guru Nanak and Mardana is envisaged. It serves to give local colour to the gosht1 with Gorakhnath in the middle of this sakhi. The gosht1 contains two verses without their commentary. The third part is again a talk between the Guru and his companions Bala and Mardana. The statement at page 204 that the stars are at different heights xxxxxxxxxxxx is correct. The heights mentioned here lend fancy to the description.

S.44 The sakhi contains two goshtis between

1. Machhinder nath and Guru Nanak.

11 Bharthri and Guru Nanak.

They are in verse. The first contains 2 and the second 15 verses. The sakhi mentions that Guru Angad on hearing this sakhi went into a trance and the people thought that he had died. He is said to have come to Himself after 8 days. Bala Sandhu also lost physical consciousness for 7 Pahars (21 hours). This is all poetic flight and is intended to create an atmosphere of faith so that the fanciful description may be swallowed by the reader as factual.

S.45. It is a small gosht1 between Guru Nanak and Bhangarnath in which the latter is shown as having lost in the end. The words used are very hot but they prove that the Guru faced tough opposition from the yogis. The Shlokas (two) quoted here explain , very beautifully the point of view of the Guru. Bhangarnath does not utter any verse. This brings out his characterisation in contrast with the personality of the Guru. The verses here prove that it is no use keeping the outward symbols by a yogi who does not know their spiritual significance.

S-46:- The next sakhi contains the Goshtis of Guru Nanak with the following Siddhas in turn:-

(i) Kanifa,(ii) Hanifa,(iii) Gopi Chand, (iv) Bharthri, (v) Bhutva, (vi)Lahrupa,(vii) Charpat and (viii)Jhangarnāth.

It contains as many as 41 verses.However, it contains little story element.

S-47:- This sakhi covers nine printed pages.It is partially descriptive and partially discussive. The following goshtis are related here:-

(i) with Sangharnath)
(ii) with Mangalnath) 23 verses quoted.
(iii) with Sambhu nath)

The discourse with No.(i) was really very hot.It presents action and relieves the monotony. Towards the end of this sakhi there were differences among Siddhas as to their behaviour towards Guru Nanak. Some of them recognised his greatness while the others wanted to give him a stiff wordy resistance.

S-48:- The beginning of this sakhi is dramatic. The Guru and his two companions reached Sumer where they met Nathas and Siddhas who offered a cup of wine. That provided a setting for the poetry quoted which is presented in the form of a goshti in which the following Siddhas took part:-
(i) Jhangar (ii) Gorakh (iii) Gopi Chand (iv) Bharthri (v) Charpatnath (vi) Ghughūnath (vii) Chambā nath (viii) Khinthra (ix) Dhūram (x) Uram (xi) Dhangar (xii) prānnath.

The discussion took part mainly in poetry(sixty three verses). The under-lined Siddhas took part in it more than once. No.(ix) and (x) were in an excited mood when they entered the discussion. The discourse with No.(viii) is comparatively longest. But this sakhi is not original. Most of it is common with P.S. and will be discussed in the chapter -'Comparative Study'. The sakhi after the goshti contains two portions. The first which is informative shall be discussed in subsequent chapters. The second contains a dialogue between the Guru and Mangal Nath in which the Guru is said to have recited 4 verses. It is the longest sakhi in this work. It is on the pattern of a poetic drama.

S-49:- It is a goshti between Guru Nanak and Dattatraya. It contains 15 verses. The sakhi contains a few lines of prose at both the ends. The style is dramatic.

S-50:- It is a brief sakhi containing a goshti with Allala birds. It appears the writer is not satisfied with the goshtis with Siddhas alone and therefore brings in birds. (In S.P. the Guru had a goshti with demoiselle). It contains 2 verses.

S-51:- It has an abrupt beginning like the modern short story. The sakhi has two parts. The first is a goshti between Prahlad and Guru Nanak and the second a dialogue of the latter with Mardana. The goshti part has 4 verses, 2 by each participant. The second part, which is informative, shall be discussed in Ch.5.

S-52: It is a talk between Guru Nanak and Mardana which is, in fact, an introduction to the next sakhi.

In all these sakhis the talk with Mardana is informative and serves as a setting. It also lends local colour.

S-53: This is a goshti with Dhru covering 10 verses surrounded by prose lines on both sides. The discourse is conceived in a homely atmosphere.

S-54: The sakhi is full of cosmic information and explains Guru Nanak's view above God and nature in prose. The Guru regards God as Supreme and His Nature as Unknowable.

S-55: The first part is again about cosmos. In the second there is some story element which is surcharged with supernaturalism. There is a mention of fruits which, the Guru told to his companions, were the diet of the spirits of great men.

S-56: The sakhi after describing some cosmos introduces two new characters. Kalian and his Guru Sil Sen. After the exchange of a few words between the Guru and Kalian, a brief goshti (2 verses) with Sil Sen starts in which the latter asks the Guru to pay a visit to Ikhan mount for a meeting with Janak. The mention of physical world (Māt lok) from where the Guru had gone shows that all these sakhis and goshtis are conceived at the level of heaven(svarga).

3-57: It is a goshti in poetry (5 verses) between the Guru and Janaka. In the end the latter applies the dust from the feet of Guru Nanak on his forehead. That proves an attempt on the part of the writer that even the renowned yogis like Janaka acknowledged the greatness of the Guru.

3-58: The first two lines of this sakhi are descriptive. Then starts a goshti between the Guru and a great Rishi Sukh Chain. Both of them do not follow the poetry of each other but it is strange that they were able to understand the explanation provided by each. The language difficulty is ignored in the present as well as in the other sakhis. The mention of bathing by Guru Nanak in the tank brings the sakhi to the level of the earth, which though absent in this sakhi is very much there in the next sakhi.

On The Earth Again:

In the beginning of this sakhi some information regarding the distances travelled is given. There is mention of three ports and Lanka City. The talk between the Guru and Mardana reveals that the death of Mardana was approaching. The Guru is shown foretelling the time of death. The sakhi is not of any literary interest. It can appeal to the ordinary masses with a wrong notion of beliefs.

Mardana's death is mentioned at Khurma. No other Janam Sakhi has described the death of Mardana during the

journey. The aim appears to show that Bala was throughout with the Guru while Mardana was not. Towards the end of this sakhi, Bala expressed the desire to see Set Band Rameshwar and when he and Guru Nanak reached there they met Gorakh and 4-5 Siddhās.

S-60: It is the only sakhi which is in the form of a poetic drama. It contains only a few lines of prose towards the end. Gorakh and Bharthri had a discourse with the Guru. As they were defeated they asked him to reach Achal (c.f. Puratan P.112). This part connects this sakhi with the next.

S-61: It is not a good piece. It relates that the Guru came to Achal Batala on the occasion of some fair. He is said to have a brief discussion with Gorakh and Bhartṛi. Only one verse is quoted but the No. at the end of this verse is 20 which shows that some verses have been left out.

S-62: It mentions that Guru Nanak sat outside Talwandi and sent Bala to bring Shahzada . The sakhi contains some story element. It has introduced a new character, Shahzada, son of Mardana.

S-63: Now in this Sakhi Shahzada is shown being caught by Sajjan robber. The poetry quoted here contains two extra lines[1] not contained in Adi Granth. Guru Nanak saves Shahzada from the clutches of Sajjan. The sakhi is a bit changed version of the same sakhi in S.P. and Puratan. Here, Mardana has been replaced by his son, Shahzada. The Guru

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1. (i) Angan pippal jammia buhe te dharmsal
Bahir disse sohna ander khode lāl
(ii) Maththe tikka lal hai gal vich malachar
Bat pharosi sikhya thaggan nun saisar.

brings him to Khurma in S.64 and leaves him there on the grave of Mardana. It appears to be an after-thought. Why should the guru leave Shahzada there? Was it for encouraging worship of the grave ? This being not in conformity with the tenets of Sikhism does not appear to be a true statement. The sakhi is very brief.

S-65: Now Guru Nanak comes to Kandhār and meets a Moghul *faqir*, Yar Ali. They talk in Persian and this shows that Guru Nanak knew this language but this writer has already told us that the Guru knew Hindgi only. It is self-contradictory. The Guru was pleased with the discourse and bestowed the title of *Vali* (a saint having higher spiritual attainment) on the *faqir*. This person i.e. Vali Kandhari is shifted to Hasan Abdāl (Panja Sahib in West Pakistan) by later writers[1] on Guru Nanak and his character is depicted altogether changed. He is described as haughty and full of wrath and it is said that in anger he threw a big stone on Mardana. The fall of this stone is said to have been arrested by Guru Nanak with the help of his palm. The impression of the fingers was imprinted on the stone. The story appears symbolic. Wherever Guru Nanak went his views carried the day and therefore his influence was stamped on the minds of the people. When a body falls its velocity increases at the rate of 32 feet per second/second. So it becomes too difficult to check a falling

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1. Bh. Santokh Singh, Ganesha Singh, G.Gian Singh.

mass, much less a big stone or a hillock. Here Guru Nanak is shown saying that his Guru is Jind Pir. It is a wrong statement. This sakhi, however, depicts Vali Kandhari very sympathetically

S-66: The writer is least careful of the sequence and brings Guru Nanak to Panipat from Kandhār. Sheikh Sharf and his disciple Haribar meet Guru Nanak. Haribar is Tatihar in Puratan. The talk between the two saints starts in Persian but soon Guru Nanak begins to answer in Punjabi (poetry). It is in the form of a goshti. It is a changed version of Puratan-14.

S-67: It is in the form of a goshti which took place in the presence of Vali Kandhari with Sharf Patkan. He was asked to see Shahzada or Vali Kandhari for his spiritual uplift. The goshti explains the true significance of the habiliment of faqir. This Sharf was different from Sharf of Panipat and he hailed from Bidar in Deccan.

S-68: In the beginning the account of last sakhi is continued. Vali Kandhari is given the status of True Guru (Satguru). (It is interesting to point out that the writer shows Guru Nanak being influenced, a second time, by a Muslim saint in this Janam Sakhi). This sakhi is a discourse between Man Chand, son of Khan Chand. It contains some story element and 11 verses.

Most of the manuscripts of this Janam Sakhi also narrate the sakhi of a Muslim girl, daughter of Hyat Khan. She

was obtained by Guru Nanak from her parents as a reward for the blessings the Guru gave them. When she was brought at Pakhoke, the mother-in-law and wife of the Guru quarrelled with him. The Sakhi appears to have come from the writings of Harji, son of Meharban. This sakhi is contrary to facts.

S-69: The writer also praises Bal Gundai, the yogi incharge of Tilla Bal Gundai. This Saint had all the amenities of life but he would not use these for himself. He would rather serve the people. The sakhi is interesting and instructive.

S-70: Here another character is introduced. He is Ajitā Randhawa. The sakhis is brief and is in the form of a goshti. It is a changed version of Puratan No.31.

S-71: The writer takes the help of a miracle to prove the spiritual powers of Guru Nanak at Kurukshetar where he and Bala were challenged by Pundits for preparing fish on the occasion of Solar eclipse. The earthen pot was found to contain rice instead of meat, In the end the people realised the greatness of the Guru. The Sakhi is based on the poetry of Guru Nanak. It contains story element and reveals the novel way adopted by Guru Nanak to preach his gospel.

S-72: The writer then takes the Guru to Delhi where he was taken prisoner. He was asked to grind corn. He prophecied about the end of the rule of Lodis. The event is described

during the reign of Brahm Khan Lodhi who came to know that Guru Nanak had been the Modi of Daulat Khan. So he was hard on him. The poetry in Rag Asa given here is not relevant to the occasion. The invasions of Babur is being prophecied but the poetry inserted is of post-invasion period. Moreover the poetry in Rag Asa on P.320 contains 9 verses whereas the hymn in Adi Granth contains only 7 verses. The writer has shown the Guru at Delhi on the eve of Babur's invasion but he states that the army encamped at Panjnad and reached Saidpur (PP. 320-21). As it contains historical material, it shall be discussed in Ch.4.

S-73: It is in the form of a discourse between Guru Nanak and Babur in which the former uttered 10 verses. The miracles are intended to glorify Guru Nanak. The writer puts derogatory remarks about Prophet Mohammad into the mouth of Guru Nanak.It cannot be regarded as true because Guru Nanak could not use such words at all. Sakhi Nos.74 & 75 shall be discussed under 'Comparative Study'. as they are common with Puratan.

S-76: It is a sakhi of a jat boy, Boora. Later on, this boy came to be called Baba Buddha. The sakhi resembles Puratan No.39 but the dialogue here is dull. Moreover it lacks the wisdom contained in Puratan.

S-77: The opening paragraph is dramatic. There is element of curiosity which ends soon. The sakhi turns into a goshti with 12 verses and an ending instructive note delivered to Sheikh Malo.

S-78: It is on the pattern of the above sakhi but is brief. It contains only two verses which were uttered for the sake of Ubare Khan.

S-79: It introduces a new character Abdul Rehman, a *fagir* who was enraged to hear the praise of Guru Nanak. Ubare Khan offered 16 yards long cloth to Guru Nanak and told about Abdul Rehman's boast. He had said, "He is a wretched Hindu. I shall expel him." Now Bala asks Guru Nanak to go to meet Abdul Rehman. This raises curiosity in the mind of the reader. Here the sakhi ends. The boast of Abdul Rehman is comparable to that of Mian Mitha in Puratan No.36.

S-80: The beginning of this sakhi is interesting. Abdul Rehman who was so much opposed to Guru Nanak alighted and kissed his hands. He asked three times the welfare of Guru Nanak who said each time, " I am well but unwell". This puzzled the *faqir* who entered into a discussion with the Guru. The rest of the sakhi is a goshti,in which the Sheikh asks a question in prose and the Guru replies in poetry (8 verses). The sakhi establishes the greatness of Guru Nanak.

S-81: The sakhi consists of 4 parts. (i) It is like a story because Bala and Guru Nanak went to take bath and one Sindhi on hearing the Guru reciting *Jap* wanted to know the meaning of *Gurmukh*. He goes to his Pir and expresses doubt on two points. (ii) Guru Nanak meets the Pir and a discourse between the two follows. (iii) The Sindhi breaks the link and

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asks the meaning of Gurmukh. The Pir cannot tell. When the Guru Nanak refuses to tell him he plans to go to Mecca. (iv) The rest of the story resembles S.No.45 in Puratan with minor differences.

S.82-83: Goshti with Sheikh Brahm being common with S.P. shall be discussed in the chapter -'Comparative Study'.

S-84: It is a goshti with uncle Laloo in which the Guru utters 4 verses. It lacks story element.

S-85: It is a brief sakhi containing no story element. It gives a little information. Guru's wife asked Bala to part so that the Guru may settle down. Here it appears that Guru Nanak did not have more than one wife. Bala asked the Guru who would succeed him and he was told that one Tehan Khatri, Lehna, son of Pheru would. The writer equates Bala with Guru Nanak and puts the following words into the mouth of Guru Angad, "Bhai Bala, I regard you Guru Nanak".

Upto this point the Sakhis have been told by Bala but now onwards these are told by Guru Angad. Bhai Lehna is tested on so many occasions. (i) He was asked to carry a bundle of grass while he wore new clothes. (ii) A dead rat was to be thrown away. The sons of Guru Nanak refused to do the job but Lehna did it. (iii) Once a bronze utensil fell into a ditch and Lehna took it out. (iv). He was asked to eat a dead body and he did -not refuse. (v) The Sikhs refused to give jerks to a Kikkar

tree but Bh. Lehna did so to get food. Nos.(i) & (iv) are also there in Purwtan. The writer says that Bhai Lehna was chosen to be the second Guru after these tests. Two three other tests described in this work shall be discussed in Chapter VI. and IX.

Towards the end of this Janam Sakhi the writer devotes half the space of page 390 to prove that the narrative is perfectly true. It appears that the writer was not sure about his inventions in this Janam Sakhi. The rest of the pages i.e. from 391 to 404 have neither been related by Bala nor by Guru Angad.

3-87: It is a sakhi which can be placed among short stories. Kamlā meets some yogis and gets a handful of ashes. He brings the ashes to the Guru who gets the clue that his end is near. Another character Sadharan is described, His portrait reveals that next to Lehna he was the most trusted sikh. The sakhi creates curiosity in the mind of the reader - 'What will happen next'?

3-88: It is entitled "gosht Sri Satguru ke chalane ki". This shows that the writer of this Janam Sakhi had before him a copy of "Sach Khand Pothi" by Meharbah. In that Pothi every Sakhi is called a goshti. So here the writer has followed the style of that book. In this sakhi the writer describes a meeting of the Guru with God on the eve of his death.

He uses the word, Thakur for God who is shown sitting in "Sach Khand". As already seen this book has avoided the mention of a meeting of the Guru with God in Vein Stream at Sultanpur and it appears that the writer wants to compensate for that and therefore he shows the Guru in the presence of Thakur. Another inference is that the writer is under Vaishnav influence.

S-89: The writer is indulging in describing fanciful events. He says that in order to perform the Sarādh ceremony of his father Guru Nanak postponed his death. The Guru always preached that one should obey the order of the Almighty. Testing with this standard the whole story looks like a fiction.

The adjectives[1] used for Thakur are all usual epithets for Vishnu. It leads us to think that the writer is under the influence of Vaishnavism.

The usual Sakhi of a quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims over the disposal of the dead body is mentioned and resolved but afterwards the writer says that the funeral pyre was set on fire, Though it may be true but it is self-contradictory as the writer says that the body disappeared.

The writer calls himself a minstrel, uses the surname Nanak dass and ends the book in the manner[2] closely resemb-

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1. Sri Thakur, Murli Manohar, Garurdhuj, Shyam Sunder, Pitambar, Bhagat Vachhal, Patit Pāvan, Ghat ghat vasi. P-401.
2. Iti Sri Janam Sakhi Babe ji di sampuran, mast subh mast subhan. P-404.

ling with the different chapters of Dasam-Granth. This Janam Sakhi writer has used derogatory remarks about Guru Nanak at various places. At one place Guru Nanak says", I was born in the house of an oilman, in a low caste family. I could not suppress the desire and consequently I was born in the house of a Khatri (Sakhi of Sachcha Sauda). Again Phiranda says to Nanak, "Why have you forgotten that day when we were together in the house of Pran Nath oilman? (Sakhi of Phiranda).

The writer does not care much to explain the difficulty of language while the Guru visits distant places where the people spoke a language very different from the language of the Guru. King Madhur Bain says to Nanak "O, brother, where have you come from? I do not understand your language" (Page 158 of Janam Sakhi). But the Guru goes on talking with them in the same language (Sadh Bhasha).

When the Guru visited Saidpur it is mentioned that Lalo saw the faqir (Nanak) wearing sacred thread round his neck. But Guru Nanak in his poetry rejects the use of such a thread. How is it that the was doing what he was preaching not to do. So the statement of the writer is incorrect.

During the talk with Dhru, Nanak tells him that he had seen God sitting on His throne and that Kabir is attending on Him as His minister. There Kabir is said to have told Nanak to go to the world. If it is accepted as true it means that Guru Nanak had not taken birth uptil then. But it is contrary

to what is mentiomed in this Janam Sakhi because the writer is describing a journey of Guru Nanak in Space after he had left his job at Sultanpur.

The writer uses uncivilised language at some places. When Jhangar Nath asks Guru Nanak his name the latter calls him 'duffer' (Bhaundu) and Jhanger retaliates with the phrase "mai moonda". Bhanger Nath also uses the same phrase about Guru Nanak. Sanghar Nath uses the phrase twice for Guru Nanak who retaliates by calling Gorakh by this phrase. Sangar calls Nanak, 'corrupt in and out' (gandam gande) and the latter calls him 'blind' and says that his mind and body are pollute. Such a dialogue cannot take place between Guru Nanak on the one hand and the Siddhas on the other. It is common sense that Guru Nanak never went into a wordy duel. He preached his views in a manner befitting his greatness and not like fanatic people who abuse their opponents.

The originality of this Janam Sakhi is only visible in the sakhis of different dvipas or in its cosmic flight.It has also introduced a number of new characters in the life of Guru Nanak e.g. Lalo, Malik Bhago, Atte Khan, Samā Pundit, Shahzada Vali Kandhari, Boora (Buddha), Ajita Randhawa,Kamla and Sadharan etc.

3.2:GYAN RATNAVLI:-

Under this heading we shall discuss the work commonly known as Bhai MANI SINGH WALI JANAM SAKHI. The following manuscripts of this work are available:-

A.With Principal Pritam Singh:-

(i) No.168. It is dated 1927 Bikrmi (1870 A.D.).

(ii) No.198. dated 1883 Bi (1826 A.D.). The scribe was Bh. Daya Singh Kalal of Phagwara.

(iii) No.70, dated 1778 Bi (1721 A.D.). It contains another work Sikhan di Bhagat Mal, which is also ascribed to Bh.Main Singh. It is the oldest MS. available.

B.(iv) MS.No.521 with Panjabi Sahit Akadmi.It is not very old MS.

(v) MS.No.802 Panjab University Library, Chandigarh. It contains Goshti Raja Janak, which is almost same as in Sach Khand Pothi.

(vi) MS.No.217 in Panjab Public Library Lahore is said to have been scribed in 1883 A.D.(vide A History of Panjabi Literature by Dr.Mohan Singh P.66).

This work has been published by two Publishers from Lahore:

(i) Chiragh Din-Siraj Din 1947 Bi(1890 A.D.)PP-600.

(ii) Mehar Chand-Lachhman Dass in 1892 A.D.Pp.596.

We shall be using the first version i.e. the one published by Chiragh Din-Siraj Din.

As this Janam Sakhi is based on Var-I of Bhai Gurdas we shall first briefly discuss that var. It consists of 49 stanzas out of which only 33 deal with the life-story of Guru Nanak and that alsovery briefly. As the writer wanted to sing the praise of the great Guru he has versified the events to glorify his role in thise world. This Var gives only a bare outline of the life of Guru Nanak as can be seen from the follow ing chart:-

No. of Stanza.	Outline of contents.
1-22 ..	Cosmology (chaos; Birth of Man on this earth ; Four yugas; six Shshtras; Degeneration in Kalyuga; Buddhism; Islam; Hindus and Muslims; Necessity of Guru's Birth).
23 ..	Birth of Guru Nanak for the emancipation of Mankind.
24 ..	Visit tof Sach Khand by Guru Nanak; Received His NAME and HUMILITY. Started to reform the people.
25-26 ..	Visited holy places - Met different types of people.
27 ..	Vanquished every body - Visited Nanak Mata-Liberated every nook and corner and nine divisions of the earth.
28-31 ..	Visit tof Sumer - Met Gorakh etc.-~~Division~~ Discussion with them - Defeated them.

No. of Stanza.	Outline of contents.
32-34	.. Visited Mecca - Motion of Kecca - Discussion with Priests - Defeated them.
35-36	.. Visited Baghdad - Discussion with Dastgīr - Flight with his son to heaven.
37	.. Visit to Medina.
38	.. Settled at Kartarpur - Sons disobedient - Lehna taken into confidence.
39-43	.. Siddh Goshti at Achal - Shivratri fair - Bhangarnath - Siddhas showed miracles - The Guru did not - Bani the greatest power God's Name the greatest miracle.
44	.. Visited Multan.
45	.. Lehna appointed successor.
46 -48	.. Concerning Guru Amardas, Ramdas, Guru Arjan and Hargobind.
49	.. Etymology of'Wahiguru'.

Let us now see how the writer of Gyan Ratnavli used this Var in order to write a Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak according to his own view point. We give below a chart showing the stanzas of var and the corresponding sakhis in this work covered by these stanzas. That will be helpful in determining the extent to which the writer has been faithful to the original.

No.of Var-Stanza.	Corresponding sakhis in the Janam Sakhi with No.against each.	Total No. of Sakhis.
1-22	Introductory.	28

No. of Var-Stanza	Corresponding sakhis in the Janam Sakhi with No. against each.	Total No. of sakhis.
23 -	Childhood at Talwandi-24, Sultanpur-9 ..	33
23-25 -	Muruksheter-4, Shah Sharf-1, Delhi-3, Goverdhan mount and Jamuna-2. ..	10
26 -	Visit to the Ganges-1, Gorakh-Mata-1, Sajjan Thug-1, Banares-1, Ayodhya-1, Gaya-1, Patna-1, Jagan nath-2, Sakhi of wolf-1, Kaljuga-1, Mardana-1, Kanda-1, Land of women-1, Sakhi of Japa, Patan-1..	15
27 -	Sakhi with a yogi-1, Visit to Sangla-dip-8, Sakhi of Harū city-2, Sakhi of Rakhsasas-1, Mardana's hunger satisfied-1, Bisambarpur -9, Visit to Bikaner-1, Deepal pur-1, Talwandi-2, Emnabad-1, Sakhi of Sialkot-1, Kashmir-1, with a yogi at Pesh-awar-1, Kabul-1, Sakhi with Bh. Mula-1, Shah vali-1, Abdul Rehmān-1, With Robbers-1, Sakhis of Khands-9, Tilgachh-2, Rameswar-1, With a Fish-1, In Lanka-1, With Mardana-1, Sakhis of Dvipas-2, Hanifa-1, Kāg Bhasund-1, Goshti with Siddhas-1. ..	55
28-31 -	Japji di Goshti-1, Dattatraya-1, Dhru-1, Meeting with God-1, With Mardana-1, Came to the Bank of Ravi-1, Sakhi of Donda jat-1,	

No. of Var-Stanza.	Corresponding sakhis in the Janam Sakhi with No.against each.	Total No. of sakhis.
28-31 (continued)	Karori-1, With Parents-2, Founding Kartarpur-1, Instruction to Father-1, Mulae2, Sakhar Bhakhar-1,Goshti With Hājis-1, ..	16
32-34 -	Visit to/ Mecca-1, Rūm-1, Karū-2 ..	4
35-36 -	Baghdad-3. ..	3
37 -	Visit to/ Medina-1, Shikarpur-1, Area of Sindh-2. ..	4
38 -	Kartarpur-1,Meeting with Lehna-1. ..	2
39-43 -	Shivratri fair at Achal Goshti with Siddhas. ..	8
44 -	Visit to/ Multan-1, Pak Pattan-Sheikh Brahm-2, Sakhi of a Wealthy-man-1, Shev-1, Kirpal Chand-1,Saide-1, One King-2, Shamh Suhagan-2, Sakhi of a lame person-1, A Monster-1, Ajita Mandhawa -2, Food prepared in water-1, With some Sikhs-2, With Mardana-4, With a rich man-2, Instructions to congregation-4, At Kartarpur-14. ..	42
	Grand Total =	219

The comparison of the commentary with the original reveals

that the writer has deviated to a large extent from the aim he set before him at the out set. The work of this writer ~~s~~ was not so difficult because firstly he was to write a commentary and secondly he had an access to various Janam Sakhis which had been produced earlier. He also claims to have heard many Sakhis from the religious symposiums of Guru Gobind Singh.

As it is presented as a commentary (Teeka) we shall also discuss it from that point of view.

The first 22 stanzas were intended to present a background for the birth of Guru Nanak. The explanations given by the commentator are praise-worthy. He has covered this portion in 40 printed pages. Upto this point he has not digressed much except at a couple of places e.g. after writing commentary on the eleventh stanza, the writer has brought in Chatur Shloki Bhagwat (4 Shlokās of Bhāgwat) and three more Shlokās which are considered by him the source of Bhāgwat Purana by Vyas.

The work also gives the commentary of three important works of Guru Nanak namely Asa di Var, Jap-ji and Siddh Goshti. Besides ,it has provided translation of Prabodha Chandrodaya Natak and some Persian poetry.

The Janam Sakhi proper starts from the commentary of Stanza No.23 of the Var and ends with Stanza No.45. We shall examine either those sakhis in this work which are new or those which are presented differently from other Janam Sakhis.

CHILDHOOD and STAY AT SULTANPUR:

There is no reference or hint of the sakhis described about Guru Nanak's childhod in the Var. But the commentator has tried to give details of the childhood. He says that at the age of one and a half years the child learnt to speak and at two he beganbeto to stand on his legs. The child is said to have studied Sapt Shloki Geeta at the early age of three, which looks incredible. He started serving othe saints at the age of four. He was sent to Pandit Brijnath on/ first lunar Sunday at the age of five. The Pandit taught him what the write calls Bairākhri (12 syllables a,ā,i,ī,u,oo,e,ai,o,au,aṁ,a).

The Guru and Mardana are shown going to Pak Pattan, the place of Farid. The age of the gurh is said to be eight at that time. He met Sheikh Brahm. His meeting at this early age is not mentioned by other writers. Sheikh Brahm ascended the gaddi about the year 1520 A.D. but it was 1477 when the Gr Guru was eight. So this writer, most probably, wants to prove that the Guru had associatione with the Sufi Faqirs from his very childhood. The Faqir asked if there was any person who literally followed the following words of Farid Shakkarganj:

"Jo tai māran mukian tinan na mare ghum"

(If one beats you with a fist, you should not retaliate)

The Guru,says the writer, narrated the story of Bhrigu who went to test the supremacy of three gods. When he went to Brahma, he did not salute him. So he was not entertained. Then he went

to Shiva and told him that his neck emitted foul smell. So Shiva was enraged. Finally he went to Vishnu and gave him a stroke of the leg but Vishnu did not retaliate but instead began to caress his feet.

This story clearly shows Vaishnav,influence on the writer of Gyan Ratnavali. The writer tells us that Guru Nanak composed and explained 9 stanzas of Asa di Var at this stage in the presence of Sheikh Brahm. This does not appear to be historically true. This Var was composed at some later date. The stanzas 10,11 and 12, of Asa di Var are explained here as an instruction to Rai Bular.

On the first lunar Sunday the Brahmin was called to perform the thread-wearing ceremony. The poetry of Guru Nanak criticising the formalities like this is brought in and explained but it is strange that the writer states that Guru Nanak, in the end,agreed to wear the thread.

The Guru was only ten when he went to learn Persian from Kazi Kutab-Din. He is said to have uttered Sibarfi (a poem of 30 stanzas, each beginning with one letter of Persian Script). It appears to be a fancy,as the poem is extra-Granth matter.

The marriage was solemnised when the Guru was fourteen. The Guru is said to have given two cloves to his wife and two sons were born to her. It appears that the cloves

have been represented as a symbol of fertility. This also shows that in the opinion of the writer , the Guru did not lead a normal married life.But it is more true that he did.

At the age of twenty Guru Nanak is shown asking Mardana to accompany him. Mardana asked for some money which he needed in connection with the marriage of his daughter. The Guru sent a person named Gurdial to Lahore where he met Mansukh and brought the ornaments. It is a changed version of Puratan No.41(first half).

Guru Nanak went to Sultanpur and began to serve under Nawab Daulat Khan. One day the Guru praised a weight of one Chhatank (2 ozs). The name of the Dewan was Dev Datt. His cook was preparing meals for him and the Guru came that way. The Dewan thought that the cooking place has been polluted by the presence of Nanak. At this the Guru uttered poetry in Rāg Asā and explained its meaning. One day, the Dewan arranged Sarādh ceremony and invited Guru Nanak who criticised Dewan for collecting things without paying for them. On another occasion the Dewan arranged a Brahm Bhoj on the birth of his son. The Brahmins declined the invitation as they said that the house, where a child is born, remains impure for a certain period. Then the Dewan requested Guru Nanak who asked him to bring the cooked food so that it could be served to faqirs. These are all instructive sakhis explaining the view point of the Guru on different aspects of life.

The accounts of Modi Khāna were checked and a sum of Rupees 5000 was found in excess. The Guru left the job of a Modi and one day entered Vein. There is nothing new in it. The writer says that the Guru went to the Land of God. Idiomatically it should mean that Guru Nanak died but the writer means to say that Guru Nanak went in the Presence of God.The hymn of Sodar is said to have been composed in God's presence which is all fancy. The Guru returned after eight days. It is difficult to believe that he spent all these days in water. One cannot live within water for more than a few minutes without oxygen. So the account is surcharged with supernaturalism. The above mentioned Sakhis are not based on the Var.

On The Hindu Holy Places:

When the journey started the Guru wore a long shirt, a cap on his head, a loin cloth and wooden slippers on foot. The first place visited was Kurukshetra where Solar eclipse fair was being held. The sakhi provides a good setting for the translation of a Sanskrit Drama. One queen and her son had hunted a hare and they were also there. They offered the hare to the Guru, who began to cook it. On seeing this many Brahmins assembled around him and their leader Manū (who used to pose as Nanak) began to quarrel wit. the Guru. After some time the same Pandit acknowledged the greatness of Guru Nanak and declared that he was an incarnation of Vishnu. He further told the audience that the following old works contained

evidence about the birth of Vishnu as Nanak in Kaliyuga:-

i. Gyān Prabodha Udaya Chand (Drama).[1]
ii. Bhāgwat Purana.[2]
iii. Bhavikhat (Bhavishya)Purana.[3]

Then Nanu is said to have related the translation of the first work which is inserted in this Janam Sakhi.

Towards the end of this translation Reason goes to Vishnu and says,"O God I have vanquished Passion by your grace. Now, Passion has gone to Mayā who has promised to send Kaliyuga for his help. Sir, help me when Kaliyuga comes." Then Vishnu says,"When Kaliyuga comes I shall bring Devotion with me and shall be born as Nanak." (P.185). When Upanishad goddess was asked where she spent such a long time she told that she was detained by the followers of the following Schools:-

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1.(a)This Drama was written by Krishna Misra of Maithila and is said to have been produced in the seventh century A.D.because its representation was attended by Kirtiverma,the King of Magadha, who flourished in the year 648 of Christian Era.Prabodha means the "The knowledge which removes the darkness of ignorance caused by the illusion of Māya, and shows the relationship of self,or soul, with the universe of matter and Spirit."
This Drama has been translated by J.Taylor into English and published in 1811 A.D.The work consists of 6 Acts with a Prologue of 4 printed pages.It is entitled the 'Rise of the Moon of Intellect'. But Prabodha Chandrodaya may be properly said to imply the "spiritual awakening of the mind". The latter is more suited to the theme of the Drama.(Vide Prabodha Chandrodaya,English Translation.J.Taylor 1893 ,Introduction.P.34).
(b) This Drama was also rendered into Bhakha Poetry by Sant Gulab Singh in 1789(A.D.
2. A celebrated Sanskrit work consisting of 18,000 verses in 332 chapters and 12 sections(Skandhas).Its tenth section deals with the life history of Krishna (Vide Dowson,A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology.PP.44-45.
3. 'This Purana ,as its name implies,whould be a book of Prophecies foretelling what will be'but the work is far from agreeing with the declared character of a Purana and is principally a manual of rites and ceremonies.' (Ibid P.49).

1. Buddhist
2. Mimansa
3. Nyaya.
4. Patanjala
5. Sankhya
6. Logic

Finally she is said to have been rescued by devotion. This work mentions in all eight systems, the six mentioned above and two - Charvāka and Jaina. Of these Buddhists, Jainis and Charvakas deny the authority of Vedas while the other five admit that authority. Again the Nyaya, Mimansa, Patanjala, Sankhya and Logic (Tark) employ logical reasoning in their investigations and use the authority of Vedas to support their opinion.

This work in the end proves the superiority of Devotion (Vishnu Bhagati) over all the other eight systems.

It is difficult to understand why the writer of Gyan Ratnavli while translating divided the work into eight parts. He has interpolated a few sentences to prove his thesis because he himself states at the end of the translation that it has been done as a testimony to the incarnation of Guru Nanak.

This translation being of a philosophical treatise hampers the movement of the Janam Sakhi and the general reader feels bored. But to the scholar it provides an intellectual exercise.

S.66-67: At Delhi the King and Nizam-ud-din Aulia are said to have come to see the Guru. The name of the King is

not mentioned. The Guru related a small story in which he proved that a just Kazi can even order a sea to restore a sunken ship. The story is meant for moralising.

S.69-70: The story told about Goverdhan mount is most romantic. There is praise of Lord Krishna in this Sakhi.Moreover we learn that there was a lot of degradation among the people residing at Holy places during the period of Guru Nanak. That is quite true.

S-71: The sakhi of throwing water in the direction of the Sun is narrated. The Guru began to throw water in the opposite direction. When asked the Guru told that he was throwing water towards his garden. The discussion which ensued is philosophised by the writer. The people said that the water thrown by them is carried away by the Sun to the respective places where their ancestors were residing. The Guru said that his words were water, his knowledge the Sun and the devotees were the garden. The sakhi does contain story element.

S-72: The Guru not only flies himself but carries Bharthri with him to some unknown place. This is a romantic incident. The Siddhas tried to carry away the Peepal tree under which the Guru sat by means of their supernatural powers. The Guru foiled their attempts and the leaves of the tree got the finger-prints of the Guru affixed on them.It is a fanciful story related to glorify the Guru.

S-73: Meeting with Sajjan robber is described at

Hastnapur. Mardana who expressed apprehension was told that unless three things namely place,time and cause coincide,death cannot occur.

S-74: The writer does not name any Pandit at Benares. He however, states that Kabir had left that place and had settled at Magahar. The Sakhi is a commentary on 4 verses.

S-75: The Guru is said to have described three kinds of teachers - Pandit, Avdhuta and Mahanpurakh. The superiority of Mahanpurakh is sought to be established by calling the Pandit blind and Avdhūta lame. There is no story element in this Sakhi. It is all instructive.

S-76: At Gaya the people told how the city got its name. A Rakshasha named Gayasur got a boon that whosoever died at that place would go to heaven. The Guru is said to have preached Vedanta and Prānāyām at Gaya. It is incompatible with Gurbani. It is informative and contains a little bit of story. It explains 4 verses.

S-77: A second meeting with the King who had met at Kurukshetra is narrated. His mother and queen also came to see the Guru. The incident in which the queen is described as incapable of bowing due to the oozing of her breast provides a setting for the poetry quoted. 4 verses are explained.

S-79: The Pandits saw Jagan Nath in dream and he told them that he had himself been born as Nanak.He asked the

Pandits to worship the Guru. This shows Vaishnav influence on the writer. The Sakhi explains 4 verses.

S-80: It is very interesting. A dead body was lying on the bank of the sea when a hungry wolf came, smelled the mouth, nose, ears and eyes and went away. He came back smelled the hands and feet of the dead and went away. The third time the wolf smelled the heart and forehead and went away. Then the Guru called the wolf who told him that the dead man had never uttered the name of God with his tongue, never heard the name with his ears, never gained the audience of saints with his eyes, never served the saints with his hands, never went on foot to the temple, never bowed his forehead before the saints and never did a good turn to anybody with his heart. The wolf thought that by eating the flesh of such a man he would go to hell. The writer has very beautifully put forth his views in the form of a short story. It is a sakhi which is not there in any other Janam Sakhi.

The Sakhis are not based on the Var of Bhai Gurdas. They have been constructed with the help of already available sakhis in different Janam Sakhis.

S-81: Kaliyuga is shown meeting the Guru. He was holding a tongue in one hand and male organ in the other. The writer says that these two things represent the degradation in which the people living in Kaliyuga would fall. Kaliyuga told the

Guru that he would be present on the two occasions: (i) Time of distribution of the Parsad (blessed food) (ii) at the end of the recitation of Gurbani. It is worth remembering that at the time of distribution of the Parsad people do not keep peace and sometimes a great disorder is seen. At that time some old people quote from this Sakhi that Kaliyuga has come. So we see that the writer has, very successfully, represented the baser values in the form of Kaliyuga. The sakhi is in fact, a commentary on 4 verses in Sri Rag. This meeting with the Kaliyuga is also there in the other Janam Sakhis. At the end of sakhi-82 the story of the Bania (Mansukh) is related briefly. It has been discussed under Puratan.

S.83. It is discussed in Chapter 8.

S.84. It describes the visit of the Guru to the land of Women. Unlike, Puratan, the main stress here is on the commentary on 5 verses. The sakhi is instructive.

S.85. It is about a yogi who used to observe Samadhi for a period of 6 months. He is said to have closeted himself in a Math and was found dead after the lapse of the prescribed period. The sakhi contains story element and attempts at the characterisation of the deceitful yogi. The sakhi also contains a commentary on 3 verses.

S-87-94. These are connected with the visit of the Guru to the city of King Shivnabh. The king sent amorous women to tempt the Guru but they failed. It is stated that the daughter of the king changed here sex with the blessing of the Guru. Such a change is not impossible as we are observing some stray cases of the change of sex these days also but here in the Janam Sakhi the change has been mentioned to prove the supernatural powers of the Guru. These sakhis contain the commentary of 21 verses. The king was

instructed in eight-fold yoga. The reference of Pran-Sangli is also there. The sakhi is a bit changed version of the same sakhi in Puratan and J.P.M.

S.95-96: It relates that the Guru and Mardana ~~walked. They then~~ closed their eyes and reached Harū city. There they met an atheist Yogi who lost his miraculous power by which he used to cause rain. The people were asked to worship God. The Yogi also became a disciple of the Guru. Such a story is also told in the life of Guru Angad.[1]

S-98: The sakhi of satisfying the hunger of Mardana is narrated. In the end the Guru instructed him that if a person keeps more than he needs from the income of a temple the money thus kept is like a poison. The sakhi contains a moral but it is not original. It is there in Puratan and S.P.

S-109: It is a goshti with a Sanyāsi. It contains the definitions of an udasi, householder and a sanyasi.

After this the Guru reached Talwandi and in this way the journey undertaken to visit the Hindu holy places came to an end.

Sakhis of Khands and Mounts.

Upto this time the writer has only mentioned Mardana

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1. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion. PP.36-38.

with the Guru. Now, he brings in Bala also who is shown accompanying the Guru during the northern journey. The important sakhis of this journey are mentioned below-

Sakhi. It describes the invasion of Babur and the sacking of Emnabad. It is stated that the Guru bestowed on Babur the kingdom of India in return to seven handfuls of Dhang which Babur gave to Mardana. It seems incredible. The sakhi is based on 19 verses which have been duly explained in this work.

Sakhi. It is in the form of a Bachan. Mardana was sent to a city with a two-pice coin to purchase 'Truth' and 'Falsehood' each worth one pice. He met one shopkeeper, Mula, who wrote on a piece of paper-- Death is True and Life is False. When Mardana brought this paper to the Guru, the latter was pleased and accepted Mula as one of his disciples.

Sakhi. It is also connected with Mula. He was asked by the Guru to pick up stones, which changed into gold coins. He was asked to close his eyes and reached his city in no time. Both these incidents are meant to prove the greatness of Guru Nanak.

Sakhi. It is a discourse with a yogi. It contains commentary on 4 verses.

Sakhi. The sakhi is interesting as it contains a story about king Alexander and a queen, Naushabh. It also glorifies the Guru.

Sakhi. It is in the form of a discourse in which some lions are shown receiving instructions from the Guru.

Sakhi. It is an interesting sakhi which has been told with the sole purpose of proving the futility of worship of the goddess. A king, who wanted to sacrifice Bala in the temple of the goddess, was himself killed by her whereas Bala was saved. It also contains a Bachan from the mouth of Bala.

Sakhi. It is a discourse with the Siddhas which established that the Guru was a great genius. The Sakhi prophesies

about the birth of Guru nanak as an incarnation of God in Kali-yuga. This is again Vaishnav influence.

S-135: It is in the form of a goshti with Mardana.It is full of information.

S-136: It deals with the different dvipas. There is no story in this.

S-137: The description of the country is fine.It was made of all gold .The people enjoyed longevity.It is said that they lived for thousands of years. The description is all imaginative.

S-138: It is a goshti with Hanifa. The Guru explains Pranayam.

S-139: The sakhi explains five types of listeners of music. It narrates the previous birth of Kak Bhasund. It has got no direct bearing on the life of Guru Nanak.

S-140: It is a gosnti with Siddhas and is followed by the commentary on 'Japji' in S.141 which covers PP.341-390. It hinders the movement of the sakhi and affects the worth of this work as a Janam Sakhi. But in itself,it is a good attempt at writing commentary on the poetry of Guru Nanak. The stanza 28 of the Var is quoted on P.337-8 but the Guru is shown at Sumer at P.326. This shows that the writer is unmindful and that he is describing the events without any reference to the var. The Guru is said to have met Vishnu (S-144) who asked him

to reveal the fifth Veda of Name to the people of the world. There is conscious attempt on the part of the writer to show that the Guru came in the world to promote Vaishnav devotion.

3-145: It appears to be a fantastic story but considering it from another angle, it proves that 'whatever is there in the universe is there in the body'. (Jo Brahmande soi Pinde).

Then the Guru is shown at Jammu. The history of the place is briefly inserted here. Soon afterwards the Master came to the bank of Ravi where he met a Landlord Doda.It is told that Karoria was a Sub-Inspector of Police(Thanedar). The Guru settled at Kartarpur and sent Bala to Talwandi to bring Guru's parents there. Mardana also brought his family there.

3-154: It is an interesting story regarding Mūla (same as in Sakhi 117). The Guru wanted to take him with him but his wife concealed him where he was bitten by a snake and died. The end of this sakhi foretells that Mula would be emancipated by the tenth Guru. This proves that the writer believes in cycles of births.

Except Sumer no other place mentioned in the above sakhis is contained in the Var.

Sakhis of Western Journey:

Mardana is seen expressing a desire to visit Mecca and Medina. Bala was asked to stay behind and the Guru and

Mardana set out on their west ward journey. The Guru is shown at Mecca at P.408 but the corresponding var stanza is quoted a at P.411. The usual sakhi of Mecca's motion is narrated. The following things were explained by the Guru at that place:-

1. Four conditions of Faith(a) Advantages of the company of great men.
   (b) Necessity of contributing a portion of one's income for religious purposes .
   (c) How to remain free from Sin (d) How to remember God.
2. Meaning of the word 'Faqir'.
3. One verse (Ait) of Quran.

A very strange story about Abrahim is told in order to tell the origin of circumcision (Sunnat). There is reference of to 'Mecca di Goshti' (Discourse of Mecca). That means that the writer took some portions from that account. A short story about prophet Ibrahim is related in which the prophet is said to have married two wives. There is also a mention of Phallic symbol (Shiv ling) at the site of Mecca.

S.158-60: This sakhi is interesting as well as instructive. The Guru started collecting pebbles and when the King asked him why he was doing so,he told him that he would take them with him after death. In this way the King was advised to give away his 45 treasures in alms. The writer -knows very well that King Karu had lived long ago but it is ~~difficult~~

difficult to know why he gives the King contemporary to Guru Nanak the same name.

An incident from the reign of Naushervan is described to prove that during those days the merchants, the ordinary people, the King, faqirs and the poor were all honest and would not take money belonging to somebody else.

3.161-63: At Baghdad the people objected to the playing of Mandolin by Mardana. The incident described here is to prove that the view of Guru Nanak about the number of heavens is correct. The utterance of Gur bar Akāl and Sat Sri Akāl by Guru Nanak as mentioned here is historically incorrect. Then there is reference of to Abdul Rehman who founded 14 sects of Muslims and of Abdul Wahid who founded 5. The writer is of the view that from these the 72 sects came into existence. The sakhis are instructive and informative.

3-164: It is a long goshti covering 24 pages (433-56) in which four Imams participated. They wanted to defeat the Guru. The discourse is a masterly piece. It ropes in the whole world, of Muslims theology and ethics and presents it dialectically . At places the views of Guru Nanak are illustrated in a most convincing manner. Strange enough the Guru defended the theory of incarnation. Ten Munajats[1] are inserted in the Janam Sakhi and they are supposed to have been uttered by the Guru.

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1. Eulogising verses in the beginning of a work.

Their authenticity is questionable. But their inclusion here proves a synthesis of the two culturesw Indian and Semetic. Besides Munajat a few single line verses (Pards) are also included and explained.

S.170-77: These describe discussion with Siddhas. The whole of Siddh-Gosht , a poem of Guru Nanak in 73 stanzas, is quoted and explained at this stage. This cover 45 pages (463-507) and bring the account to a stand still. Though the commentary has got its own importance it should not have been included in the Janam Sakhi.

MISCELLANEOUS SAKHIS.

At Multan the Guru is said to have uttered HAZARNAMA in the presence of Rukn-Din. It is not there in Adi Granth. Hence it is not a genuine work of Guru Nanak.It is a mixed prose-poetry piece. Its brevity, mixed vocabulary and synthetic tone is praise-worthy.

S-189: This is an interesting story of a Faqir whose name is given as Shauh Suhāgan. He posed to enjoy the physical meeting with Moon on every New Moon's day.His fraud -was discovered due to the supernatural powers of Guru Nanak.

The Sakhi (No.181) of a rich man who had cut his male organ to prove his faithfullness to his wife is simply to prove the inevitability of Karma theory. The Sakhi of Saido (No.184) smacks of the writer's belief in caste-system. Saido's pre-

vious birth is narrated and he is represented as having been born in Rāmdasia Family. It appears that the Saido Gheo of Puratan has been conceived here as two persons Saido and Gheo. Saido has been blamed for the following five sins (a) He gave tasted food to King Janak.(b)Theft.(c) Touched a maid-servant. (d) Quarrelled with a Brahmin on 14th Lunar Day.(e) Stole some oil (f) Beat a Donkey (g) Beat his own Guru. The story of Gheo is narrated from the mouth of Bala in the presence of Guru -Angad. At page 532 a line runs thus; "Then Bhai Ghoha,I and Guru Nanak started from Deepaloo city." The word 'I' here denotes Bala. So this Sakhi is an interpolation. The Sakhis of Saido and Gheo are full of stories. Some of them tall about previous births. They have brought in some more characters but these are not important from the point of view of this thesis. The sakhi is meant to glorify the Guru

S-190: It relates the story of a giant who is shown falling unconscious at the sight of the Guru. It is another version of the sakhi of Karori which is there in all the Janam Sakhis.

S-192: Ajita Randhawa, who belonged to Pakhoke Randhawa, needed money. The Guru asked him to pick up some earth that changed into money by virtue of the supernatural powers of the Guru.

From the perusal of this work we come to know that

the writer believes in the theory of incarnation. In order to project these ideas he has tried this best while writing commentary on the twenty second stanza of the Var. The Bull (Dhaul) which is considered upholding this earth on its horns implores before the Almighty: "As you came in this world as Swan incarnation in Satyuga as Rama incarnation in Treta Yuga, as Krishna incarnation in Dwapar-Yuga and Buddha incarnation in Kaliyuga, so you should come as saint incarnation during this period and compose the fifth Veda in the form of your Vat(Poetry)". Continuing the commentary he says; "In Treta-Yuga I was born in the house of Dasaratha and Kaushalya, in Dwapar-Yuga in the house of Vasudeva and Devaki and now in Kaliyuga I shall be born in the house of mother Tripta and father Kalu".

The writer shows his scholarship at various places in this commentary. A few examples are listed below:-

(a) Enumeration of 14 types of Knowledge.

i) How to read a script (ii) Swimming. (iii) Medical Science. (iv) Chemistry. (v) Astrology. (vi) Music. (vii) Sex. (viii) Grammar. (ix) Instrumental Music. (x) Horse-riding. (xi) Acting and Dancing. (xii) Bow-Shooting. (xiii) Knowledge of Veda and Shastras (xiv) Art of Cleverness.

(b) Commentary on Seven Shlokas of Geeta.

(c) Knowledge of seven skies, seven lower worlds (Patālas).

(d) Core-thought of Vedas.

(e) Enumeration of 32 good qualities.

(f) Enumeration of spiritual, semi-terrestrial and semi-spiritual significance of different functions of the body.

(g)6 qualities of God.

(h) 6 qualities of Man.

(i) Number of gasses is put at 49 and the sea is described 4 yoganas higher than earth.

(j) Four states of the mind.

1.Jagrit (Awake),Supan(Dream),Sukhopat and Turia.

(k) Four Karmas (actions) Bhagtiē (devotion), Gyān (Knowledge), Yog (Communion) and Vairāg (detachment).

If we subtract the Introduction (45 PP) ,Asa di Var (42 PP), Prabodh-Chandrodya drama (43 PP), Japji (51 PP),and Siddha-Gosthi (39 PP), Sakhis of other Gurus (13 PP) we are left with 367 pages which include the explanations of the 23 stanzas of the var. As many as 219 sakhis have been described in about 300 pages (These exclude the Var Stanzas and their explanations). On the average one sakhi covers about 1.5 pages. This is quite praiseworthy.(

This work is more than a commentary on the first Var of Bhai Gurdas. It has brought together almost all the Sakhis related about Guru Nanak by earlier writers and tried to

authenticate them with the authority of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh. This work is an attempt to write a Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak from the orthodox point of view. For an ordinary reader it is not so easy to go through this work. It requires patience and some working knowledge of the Hindu tradition to understand and appreciate this work, which provides for a student of Comparative Religion enough material for study. It is, without any doubt, a rich source of religious, doctrinal and mythological information.

BHAGAT RATNAVLI:- It is based on the eleventh Var of Bhai Gurdas. For the purpose of this thesis the following sakhis of the Sikhs of Guru Nanak only are being examined:-

S.No.1:Taru Popat: It consists of a story and a Bachan. It is full of wisdom.

S.No.2,Mula Keer though the sakhi is in the form of an instructive story, the too much leniency shown to the thief by a sikh simply because he posed like a sikh is not convincing.

S.No.3:Pirtha and Kheda. This sakhi is a good example of a Bachan. It does not contain any story element.

S.No.4:It starts like a story but soon turns into a goshti, and then a Bachan and ends with commentary on a verse.

S.No.5:It is a Bachan delivered to Pirthi Mal Behal and Rama didi.

S.No.6:The sakhi consists of 4 parts. Each may be expanded

into a full sakhi. The first part is a Bachan in the form of a monologue. The second and third part relate the sakhi of Checking of Accounts and Entering Vein and are therefore not new. The fourth contains instruction to Nawab Daulat Khan along with a story about Khizr(god of water). The latter is also there in puratan (No. 42.) but the setting here is different.

3.No.7: It is a very fine piece of Bachan delivered in the form of a goshti. The recipients were Malo and Manga.

3.No.8: In this Bachan, Kalu, a Khatri (not Guru Nanak's father) receives instruction. Here the word Janmukh is explained.

3.No.9: This is,in fact, in continuation of the last sakhi though the sikhs getting the instruction are different (Bhagata Dhri and Jāpu). Here the word Manmukh is explained.

3.No.10: Two different explanation of the word MAHIGURU are provided in this sakhi. The first is etymological and the second scholarly. Two sikhs Seehā and Dajjan are mentioned . The Sakhi also contains a miraculous and moralising story towards the end.

3.No.11: It is about Bhagirath of Malsian who has already figured in Puratan Janam Sakhi (No. 41.). It is mentioned that formerly he was the worshipper of Kali. The sakhi contains a story about the appearance of kali in the service of t the Guru but it is not an original piece. This sakhi is there in Puratan (No. 53.) in the account of Bh.Lehna.

3.No.12: It is in the form of a Bachan in the presence of Jita (Ajita) Mandawa. It explains eight-fold yoga

(Hath-yoga) but in the end recommends devotion (Bhagati).

3.No.13: It is a sakhi of Boora (Baba Buddha) and is in the form of a Bachan in which four methods of Jap (Remembrance) are explained. The statement of the writer that Baba Buddha remained alive upto the time of fifth Guru betrays a little ignorance because Buddha is said to have lived even after Guru Arjan.

3.No.14: This is an instruction to two Sikhs Phirna Khehra and Jodh in the form of a Bachan.

These 14 sakhis are based on stanza Nos.13 and 14 of the Var. The detail is as follows:-

St. No.	No. of Sakhis.
13	8
14	6

It is,in fact , a great achievement because some of the Sikhs whose sakhis are narrated are not included in the works already discussed e.g. Mula keer, Pirthi Mal, Rama Didi, Pirtha Kheda, Manga, Gajjan, Phirna Khehra and Jodh. Though the names have been taken from the Var , yet the sakhis (or Bachans) are original.

This work, in all, contains 160 sakhis and is available both in manuscript and printed forms. It has been published by

(i) Machine Press Lahore (Vide Panjabi Parkashnan di Suchi, Panjabi Department, Patiala, 1953. P.236).

(ii)Khalsa Samachar Amritsar,June 1950; pages 185.

3.3:LATER WORKS:- Among these we shall examine the works based on the Janam Sakhis that had already been discussed. They belong to a period later than 1750 A.D. We shall deal with them very briefly.

A - WORKS OF SECOND HALF OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(i) Mehman Parkash (In prose):- This work is said to have been produced by Bawa Kirpal Singh Bhalla. It is a very brief account of the life of Guru Nanak and contains only 20 Sakhis. A book, entitled Jiwan Katha Sri Guru Nanak Dev ji, published by Dr. Kirpal Singh of Panjabi University,Patiala is based on a MS.(No. 2308) of this work lying in S.H.R.D.Khalsa College,Amritsar, According to Bh.Kahan Singh this was written in 1798 Bikrmi[1] (1741 A.D.).

The work does not include the commentaries of the verses quoted in it.

(ii) Mehman Parkash (in verse):- Its one MS.No.2300 is lying in S.H.R.D.Khalsa College, Amritsar and the other with Dr.S.S. Kohli ,Head of the Panjabi Department,Punjab University,Chandigarh. The work is not confined to the life of Guru Nanak alone It also deals with the lives of the other Gurus. Its contents on G. Nanak are common with the work mentioned above in (i) but it contains

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1. Mahan Kosh P.84 of appendix

many more sakhis which are not their in the other work. The total No. of sakhis is 65 out of which 37-8 are common with Puratan Janam Sakhi. Their S.Nos. are 1, 4-11, 13-17, 19, 23-24, 29, 32, 37, 38, 41, 44, 47, 49-52, 54, 55-58, 60-61, 63-65. The sakhis common with S.Pare Nos.3, 18, 20-22, 28, 35 & 42. Only two sakhis (Nos.27 and 30) are common with G.N. The work is not influenced by J.P.N. It does not mention the presence of Bala with Guru Nanak prior to S.No.50. S.Karm Singh Historian is of the view that this writer started his work at Banares and finished it at Khadur.[1] That might be the reason for Bala's omission in the work. There are only a few sakhis which are new. Nos.2, 33, 39 and 43.

The work contains verses and their brief commentaries which are simple para phrases either in prose or in poetry.

B - WORKS OF NINTEENTH CENTURY.

(1) NANAK PARKASH:- It was produced in 1823 A.D.by Bhai Santokh Singh, who was born at Amritsar in 1788 A.D. It consists of a total of 130 chapters in two parts, the first (Purbārdh) containing 73 and the second (Uttarardh), 57 chapters. The writer is said to be indebted to the writings of Bhai Sahib Singh, which are no longer extant. The study of this work reveals that he based his work on Guru Nanak, mainly, on the Janam Sakhi - Vaira Mokha, even though he expressed his doubts on

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1. Katak Kē Vaisakh P.222.

its genuineness by remarking that the Hindal-is had corrupted the original Janam Sakhi, prepared in the presence of Guru Angad.

Bhai Vir Singh is of the view[1] that the writer of 'Nanak Parkash' had no access to the Janam Sakhi known as 'Puratan'. He, however, states[2] that he had before him a copy of Mehman Parkash by Sarup Dass Bhalla. As we have already seen that the writer of this latter work based the account mostly on Puratan Janam Sakhi, so we may infer that the work 'Nanak Parkash' has been influenced by Puratan, though indirectly i.e. through Mehman Parkash. In support of our contention we refer to the following sakhis included in Nanak Parkash, which are not there in J.P.M. but are very much there in Puratan:-

NANAK PARKASH		PURATAN JANAM SAKHI
(i) Sakhi of Mansukh who had gone to Singhladip purbardh Ch.27,30 & 44.	-	Sakhi No.41
(ii) Hunger of Mardana.	-	" " 30
(iii) Sakhi of Robbers. Uttarardh Ch.15	-	" " 22
(iv) Sakhi of bestowing kingdom on a child. Uttarardh Ch.15	-	" " 20
(v) Revived a dead elephant at Delhi.* Ch.21	-	" " 15
(vi) Worship of Mardana by villagers. * Ch.21	-	" " 12
(vii) Sakhi of a Leper. * Ch.25	-	" " 33
(viii) Sakhi of a carpenter whose cottage was demolished. * Ch.13	-	" " 48
(ix) Doubts of Mardana allayed. * Ch.29	-	" " 68

1. Gurpartap Suraj Vol.I-pp.177-78.
2. Ibid pp.183-84.

Further, the incorporation of the sakhis relating to a few sikhs, whose reference is in the eleventh Var of Bhai Gurdas proves that the writer took help from the writings of Bh. Gurdas and Bhagat Ratnavli because this latter work was the first to present brief accounts of these Sikhs (Pirtha, Kheda, Rama, Malo, Japu, Seehā, Gajjan, Rhina and Jodh). Similarly the work is also indebted to Mehman Parkash (prose), Parchian Sewa Dass and Gyan Ratnavli. The writer has tried to justify the statement of Meharban, who had said that Guru Nanak was an incarnation of King Janak, by saying that it was a *similé* which meant that both these greatmen practised yoga while living as householders (Ch.37-stanza 76). This reference to Janak and the inclusion of the sakhis of Munāfak desha and Bharthari etc. show the influence of Sach Khand Pothi.

But the following sakhis in this work are new:-

(i) Sakhi of Panja Sahib. (Uttrārdh Ch.14)

(ii) Sakhi at Kabul in which the Guru is said to have climbed the wall of a mosque and caused it to run(Uttarārdh Ch.14)

(Mi) Visit to the land of Negroes. (Uttarārdh Ch.17)

(iv) Visit to Bhutant desh (perhaps Bhutan).(Uttarārdh Ch.13)

This work was followed by the accounts of next nine Gurus completed in 1843 A.D. under the title Gur partap Suraj in six ponderous volumes by this writer. These have been edited by Bh.Vir Singh under the title Suraj Parkash Granthavli and

published in 14 volumes which cover both the works - Nanak Parkash and Gur Partap Suraj.

The credit of placing the tradition set by J.P.M. on firm footing goes to the work Nanak Parkash.

(ii) NANAK VIJAY:- This Granth on the life of Guru Nanak was written by an Udasi, Sant Ren, who is said to have been born in 1741 A.D. at Srinagar. He died in 1873 A.D. Upto this time only four manuscripts[1] of this work have come to light. They are lying at (i) Bhūdan near Malerkotla (ii) village Lehal Kalan with Mahant Chand Sarup (iii) Sri Sadh Bela Ashram, Sakhar (iv) Balapur Pith, District Akola (U.P). The MS. lying at Bhudan is considered to be the original copy. Its microfilm is also available with the Language Department, Patiala. It is a big volume of 1860 leaves and its size is 7½" x 12". The book has twenty sections with varying number of chapters in each. The detail is as follows:-

S.No.	Section.	No. of chapters.
1	Mangal.	16
2	Brahm.	17
3	Nanak Bilas.	24
4	Dharama Udyog.	22
5	Vivah (Marriage).	20
6	Udāsi.	21
7	Partap.	13

1. Shamsher Singh Ashok, Panjabi Dunya Dec. 1951.

S.No.	Section.	No. of chapters.
8	Khadur Khand.	20
9	Nakeshwar.	21
10	Sumer.	21
11	Rameshwar.	18
12	Gyan.	17
13	Nanak Mata.	12
14	Talakh dip.	14
15	Sangladip.	13
16	Multan.	13
17	Baran (Varun).	10
18	Tilganji Dev.	10
19	Kashmir.	229
20	Kartarpur.	16
		324 Chapters.

The language of Nanak Vijay is Hindi-Panjabi mixed or what may be called Sadh-Bhasa e.g.

"Hai Balak Par maha gyani
Is ki gati kachhu jai na jani (Nanak Bilas Khand)."

As the writer lived at Bhūdan, which is in Mālva, the language of this work contains many words of Malvaī, a dialect of Punjabi e.g.

"Bala prabhu Mardana gail
Purab ka Guru kino sair (Nanak-Mata Section)."

This writer shows Bala and Mardana with the Guru during his

different journeys. It appears he had access to the Janam Sakhi by Bala Mokha. He also says that at Delhi, Guru Nanak prophesied that the reign of the Lodis would come to an end after seven months and seven days. Like J.P.M. this writer also mentions the killing of Daulat Khan by Babur.

The work of Sant Ren is, to a great extent, surcharged with myths. The diction of this work consists of Hindi, Sanskrit, Punjabi and Persian words but it is a pity that the writer has used Persian words in such a deformed shape that it betrays his unfamiliarty with this language. He writes Tof in place of Top, Nagich in place of Nazdik and Matval in place of Matlab.

The tradition among his descendants is that this Sadhu met Balmik at the age of sixty and the latter asked the former to write the life of Guru Nanak. If this is considered reliable, we may conclude that Sant Ren, who was born in 1741 A.D., wrote his epic on Guru Nanak after the year 1811 A.D. Now, Sant Ren says that he wrote five Granths[1] in the following orders:-

1. Man Parbodh.	...	83 leaves.
2. Nanak Vijay.	...	1860 leaves.
3. Nanak Bodh.	...	x
4. Bachan Sangrahi,	...	110 leaves.
5. Udasi Bodh.	...	319 leaves.

1. Sant Ren, Udasi Bodh stanza 82-83 vide Shamsher Singh Ashok's article, Panjabi Dunya Dec.1951.

The last work Udasi Bodh was completed in 1916 Bikrmi as mentioned at its end. Nanak Vijay, being the Second in the above series and being the most voluminous of all his works, might have been completed before 1915 Bikrmi i.e.1858 A.D. It is just possible that this writer had finished this work during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839 A.D.). Sant Ren was 98 when Ranjit Singh died. In the absence of any internal evidence we may say that Sant Ren finished his great epic, Nanak Vijay, during the first half of nineteenth century.

(iii) Guru Nanak Sury-oday:- This work was written by Mahant Ganesha Singh in Bhakha poetry in 1906 Bikrmi (1849 A.D.) at Jammu. It follows the 'Janam Sakhi-Paira Mokha' and 'Nanak Parkash'. The work is divided into two, almost equal parts. The first and the second part contain 65 and 56 sakhis respectively. The following sakhis in this work are different from those in J.P.M.

Nos.23, 32 and 63 in Part I and Nos.26,34 and 36 in Part II.

The sakhi of Budhan Shah is new in this work, which is written in Bhakhā poetry.

(iv)History of the Sikhs by W.L.M.'Gregor Vol.I published in 1846 A.D. in London. Its chapter No.I (pp.31-47) deals with the life of Guru Nanak. The writer thinks that Guru Nanak was

born in 1468 A.D. (1525 Bikrmi) at the village Maree (Nanak's maternal place). The year coincides with that in Mehman Parkash and though the place of birth is different from that mentioned in 'Sach Khand pothi', yet the writer agrees with the view of Meharban that Guru Nanak was not born at Talwandi. The account given in this work is mainly based on Malcolm's 'A sketch of the Sikhs' published at Bombay in 1812 A.D.).

(v) The Adi Granth (English Translation) by Dr.E.Trumpp published in 1877 at London. In the beginning of this translation the writer has given the life of Guru Nanak (Introduction pp.i-LXXVI) along with the English Translation of old Janam Sakhi (Puratan) and the sakhi Nos.1-15, 17-18, 84-86, 89-90 of Janam Sakhi - Pairа Mokha.

(vi) Sikh Rāj dī Vīthya by Shardha Ram Philauri (d.1881 A.D.) was published in Mission Press, Ludhiana in 1868 A.D. Thebook starts with the life of Guru Nanak and covers almost four hundred years of Sikh History. Towards the end it contains 20 Sakhis of Guru Nanak including the one concerning his marriage with a Muslim woman copied out from the Janam Sakhi (J.P.H.). The book was edited by Prof. Pritam Singh by excluding the so called biased or prejudiced statements of the original writer and published in 1956 from Jullundur.

(vii) Panth Parkash by Ratan Singh Bhangu of Bhari in Ludhiana District. It is the versification of the accounts of 'Khalsa Panth'

Panth' prepared by Captain Murray, which was completed in 1898 Bikrmi. The work is a brief History of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak unto the period just before the advent of the Misles. The life of Guru Nanak is described in 142 verses. The writer is silent about the existence of Bala.He also doubts the authenticity of Karu's discourse with Guru Nanak. The work is important from historical point of view.

C - WORKS OF TWENTIETH CENTURY.

(1) Panth Parkash by Giani Gian Singh of Loungowal. This work was first published in 1937 A.D. It is, in fact, based on 'Panth Parkash' of Ratan Singh but contains many more sakhis.

For distinction between the above two works of the same name the word old (Prāchin) is added before the former.

(ii) The Sikh Religion by M.A.Macauliffe. This work was published at Oxford in 1909 A.D. in VI Volumes. The preface,Introduction and the Life of Guru Nanak contained in its first volume are, in a way , an attempt on the part of the learned writer to render 'into English the accounts he considered acceptable to the orthodox Sikhs but at the same time shorn of repulsive details' of Janam Sakhi - Paira Mokha and Suraj Parkash. The Life of Guru Nanak as contained here is based on 'Puratan Janam Sakhi' and contains only a couple of extra sakhis (Bhai Lalo, Death of Mardana).

(111) <u>History and Philosophy of Sikhism</u> in 2 Vols. by Khazan Singh published in Lahore in 1914 is not ,strictly speaking, a biography of Guru Nanak.It,however, pleads the case of Janam Sakhi - Paira Mokha and regards it authentic.

(iv) <u>The Divine Master</u> by Sewa Ram Singh published by M.Gulab Singh and Sons in 1930 A.D. It is a revised edition of 'A Critical Study of the'Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev' published by the same author in 1904 A.D.' The writer regards neither J.P.M. 'authentic' nor Puratan 'perfectly correct'.The only new thing in this work is the inclusion of a photo of the Inscription in Turkish language at Baghdad concerning the visit of the Guru to that place. It covers 317 pages and is written in English.

(v) <u>Guru Nanak Chamatkar</u> in two volumes by Dr.Vir Singh.Wazir Hind Press Amritsar in 1937. Language Panjabi - Gurmukhi script It is a big work produced on the basis of Puratan Janam Sakhi but it has borrowed many sakhis from Bhagat Ratnavli,Gyan Ratnavli and Nanak Parkash.

(vi) <u>Guru Nanak Prabodh</u> by Giani Ditt Singh published at Amritsar in 1932 A.D. is in poetry. It is divided into 30 chapters, each entitled <u>Prabodh</u> e.g. <u>Gorakhmata Prabodh</u>. The work does not mention Bala.